

CURRENT DATA ON THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ELITE

(Prepared by the Editors)

In the past, the editors of *Indonesia* have periodically prepared lists of officers holding key positions in the Indonesian Armed Forces' hierarchy to keep readers abreast of developments. The present list (updated to early September 1978) offers some insights into Indonesia's military politics since our last listing in *Indonesia*, No. 23 (April 1977). As in that listing, the format adopted here is the full official organizational structure of the Department of Defense and Security, listing all the various bodies under the minister's control, and adding only the key post of Head of Bakin (State Intelligence Coordination Board), a post directly subordinate to the President.

The table below reveals immediately that over the past fifteen months there has been a shuffling of posts on a scale unmatched since the fall of General Sumitro in the aftermath of the January 1974 "Malari" affair.

Changes of Holders of Listed Positions from
September 1974 through September 1978

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
January		4	3	-	7
February		2	2	2	1
March		-	2	-	2
April		1	-	-	4
May		1	-	-	2
June		2	-	7	1
July		-	-	1	1
August		-	-	5	1
September	-	3	-	2	2
October	-	-	-	6	
November	-	-	-	-	
December	-	-	-	1	
Total	(27)*	13	7	24	21

*Note that the 27 changes in 1974 all occurred before the end of July.

What can be inferred from the timing and character of these changes? To what extent do they represent a continuation of long-standing tendencies in New Order intramilitary politics--namely, centralization, Javanization, and preservation of an equilibrium between the three Java-based Divisions, Siliwangi, Diponegoro, and Brawijaya? How far are the changes noted in the March 1977 listing--increased representa-

tion of specialized services and a slow-down in the circulation of the top military elite--still observable?

Timing. In a formal sense, many of the changes listed are long overdue. Official Indonesian military doctrine has it that a normal term of duty in any post is two years. Yet the actual average term for all officers relinquishing posts since our March 1977 listing is almost 41 months, 70 percent longer than the norm. At least a dozen officers had served in one post for three times the official period; and in one extraordinary case, that of Gen. Darjatmo, an officer served for no less than 106 months (almost 9 years) in one key position. But it would probably be misleading to suggest that the timing of the recent changes has been determined primarily by internal institutional criteria. There are good reasons for supposing that the changes have more to do with the larger political crisis that developed after the national elections of May 1977 and came to a head just before the Presidential "election" of March 1978. It will be recalled that the elections, whose overall outcome was managed by the government, nonetheless offered evidence of rapidly growing public discontent. In the fall of 1977 a nationwide student movement protesting long-standing government policies in almost every field and demanding that Suharto not be elected to another presidential term further alarmed the authorities, who responded by the most severe repression seen since the late 1960s. Respected national newspapers were temporarily banned and only permitted to publish again under strict government guidelines; hundreds of students were arrested; the student unions of every campus in the nation were "frozen" by government decree; many universities were put under military occupation; and a number of nationally-prominent opposition figures were detained. During the course of the crisis there were plenty of indications that the military itself was divided on Suharto's candidacy. Much private and some public speculation centered on the possibility that General Surono, Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces, a widely respected senior Javanese officer from the key Diponegoro Division, would attract enough intramilitary support to push Suharto into withdrawing his candidacy, thereby assuring a smooth military-determined succession. In the event, Suharto was able to block this challenge, but his anxiety can be gauged from the fact that, contrary to normal expectations, Surono was not promoted to succeed General Panggabean as Minister of Defense and Commander of the Armed Forces. Instead, he was kicked upstairs to the largely powerless position of Coordinating Minister for Public Welfare, while General Andi Jusuf, an old Suharto crony who had held civilian functions for the previous 12 years, was brought in to take Panggabean's place. There are therefore strong grounds for interpreting the reshuffle in the military in terms of Suharto's attempts to maximize his strength within the Armed Forces (his ultimate political base) for the duration of the crisis.

Centralization. Commentary on earlier listings of Indonesia's military elite has repeatedly stressed the military leadership's determination to establish a tightly-disciplined institutional structure directly subordinated to the will of the President, and, to a lesser extent, of the Army. Major institutional reforms in October 1969 and February 1975 did much to subject the Navy, Air Force, and Police to the Army, the territorial commanders to the center, and the various semi-independent military agencies to the Minister of Defense and his immediate staff. Since February 1975 no comparable *institutional* changes have taken place. Personnel changes, however, suggest some

significant centralizing activity. The subjection of the regions to the center still seems virtually total. As in our previous listing, not a single territorial command in the Outer Islands is headed by a "native son." At the center, an important new indicator of centralizing policies (also clearly designed to defend the President's intra-military authority) has been an unusual doubling of functions in the hands of some of Suharto's most trusted confidants. Of these the most striking are the following: General Yoga Sugama not only heads the state's top political intelligence body, Bakin, but is also Chief of Staff (operational controller) of the Kopkamtib internal security apparatus within the Defense Ministry. (This doubling of functions would, in American terms, be like making the same man head of the CIA, the DIA, the NSA, and the FBI.) General Benny Murdani is concurrently Deputy Head of Bakin, Assistant for Intelligence to the Minister of Defense, and Head of the Strategic Intelligence Center within the Defense Ministry. And Admiral Sudomo is both Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Commander of Kopkamtib.

Javanization. Ever since the crushing of the PRRI-Permesta rebellion the Indonesian military has been disproportionately officered by ethnic Javanese. In addition, Suharto himself, as a Javanese and with an initial power-base in the Diponegoro Division of Central Java, stood to gain, up to a certain point at least, by furthering existing Javanizing trends. Our present listing shows that this tendency has if anything accelerated. As of July 1974, at least 74 percent of the listed officeholders were Javanese; by March 1977, the percentage had gone up to 76 percent. In the current listing, no less than 80 percent of officers whose ethnic backgrounds are identifiable are Javanese. (The percentage of Sundanese has moved from 8 percent through 11 percent to 9 percent; of Sumatrans from 12 percent through 8 percent to 5.5 percent; of others from 6 percent to 5 percent to 5.5 percent.) This means that today four out of every five senior officeholders are Javanese.

Divisional Equilibrium. Earlier analysis suggested that Suharto and Panggabean had consistently attempted to maintain a rough parity between the three major Divisions on Java, with more senior staff positions at the center going to Diponegoro men, and more territorial positions to officers from Siliwangi and Brawijaya. The current listing reveals a noticeable change, with identifiable Siliwangi men having 25 percent of the positions, followed by Brawijaya with 16 percent and Diponegoro with 14 percent. These findings might appear to conflict with the Javanizing tendency discussed above. But well over half of the listed Siliwangi officers are in fact Javanese. Moreover, there are clear signs that these Javanese Siliwangi officers are moving into the crucial senior staff slots. It is possible that this development represents a move by Suharto to enlist Siliwangi support while removing Diponegoro leader General Surono from the military succession line. It may also indicate concessions that Suharto was forced to make to pacify elements in the military opposition, long believed to be especially concentrated in Siliwangi.

The Specialized Services. In analyzing the listing of March 1977, we had hypothesized that the unusual prominence of officers not clearly identified with the major Divisions, particularly as commanders of the Outer Island territorial commands, represented a secular decline in the influence of Divisional affiliation for a successful professional

career. It was argued that this development was partly the product of a rationalization of promotions according to academic or para-academic criteria since the mid-1960s; and that "in the absence of much serious fighting for a decade (except for the Timor debacle), successful careers have more and more been made in staff rather than in line positions; the officers of the specialized services, typically much better educated than the infantrymen, have taken advantage of this change." In the current listing, officers from the specialized services have not, on the whole, improved their overall competitive position. But there is one significant exception: the RPKAD, or paratroopers, the military's combat elite. The RPKAD's new prominence seems to have arisen from three interrelated developments: the resurgence of armed opposition to the state in Irian Jaya (and to a much lesser extent in Aceh), the ongoing war against East Timor, and the meteoric rise of Maj. Gen. Benny Murdani, a former RPKAD leader. For the two territorial commands in RPKAD hands are Irian Jaya and Nusatenggara (which in the eyes of the Jakarta high command subsumes East Timor), while it is an open secret that Gen. Murdani has dominated policy making and policy implementation on Timor from the start.

Circulation of the Military Elite. In our commentary on the March 1977 listing, we noted that "there has been a marked *slow-down* in promotions, not to say some stagnation, at the higher levels of the military hierarchy. This is particularly important insofar as the army has talked a great deal in recent years about the transfer of power from the generation of '45 to the post-revolutionary generation. One might have expected the rhetoric to be accompanied by a speeding-up of recruitment of younger men into key positions. That this has not taken place suggests that President Suharto and his long-standing inner circle feel increasingly insecure about the loyalty of the lower military." At first sight it might seem as if the large number of recent military transfers reflects the long-promised generational shift, or at least a real changing of the guard. Closer inspection, however, reveals a more ambiguous picture. First, 16 of the 43 (37 percent) new appointments are of officers already on the March 1977 listing, and essentially represent lateral shifts in the pre-existing hierarchy. Secondly, there has been no notable improvement in the position of the leaders of the so-called generation of '49, men like Generals Sajidiman, Himawan, Sutanto, Harsojo and Wijogo. This generation, formed of cadets enrolled in the Jogjakarta Military Academy in the closing days of the national revolution, is a small but important interstitial group between the generation of '45 and the post-revolutionary generation. Finally, almost all the truly key political positions in the present listing, namely: Minister of Defense, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Commander and Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib, the Army Chief of Staff, the Commander of Kostrad, Assistant for Intelligence to the Minister of Defense, and the Head of Bakin, remain in the hands of long-standing members of Suharto's innermost circle. In other words, while many changes have occurred--which should improve internal military morale--these have primarily occurred at the lower levels and among the less significant positions.

The present list is organized according to the format developed in previous issues of *Indonesia*. As far as possible, the following information is given for each position: the name of the occupant, the

date of his assumption of the office, the length of his term (where completed), the name of his predecessor, his own previous post, his Divisional or service background, and his ethnic origin.

Sample

OFFICEHOLDER	DATE OF INSTALLATION (LENGTH OF TERM)
	NAME OF PREDECESSOR
	OFFICEHOLDER'S PREVIOUS POST
	DIVISIONAL BACKGROUND ETHNIC ORIGIN

Abbreviations

B = Brawijaya	J = Javanese
BB = Bukit Barisan	S = Sundanese
D = Diponegoro	Sl = Siliwangi

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND SECURITY (HANKAM)

COMMAND ECHELON

Minister of Defense and Security/
Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

1. Gen. Maradean Panggabean	28.III.73 - 17.IV.78 (61 months) Gen. Suharto Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces TT/II (S. Sumatra) Toba Batak
2. Gen. Andi Mohammad Jusuf	17.IV.78 Minister of Industry Hasanuddin Buginese

Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

1. Gen. Surono Reksodimedjo	11.V.74 - 17.IV.78 (47 months) Gen. Sumitro Army Chief of Staff D J
2. Admiral R. Sudomo	17.IV.78 Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) Navy J

Commander of Kopkamtib

1. Gen. (and President) Suharto	c. 11.V.74 - 17.IV.78 (47 months) Gen. Sumitro (President) D J
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2. Admiral R. Sudomo¹17.IV.78
Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib
Navy J

Chief of Staff, Kopkamtib

1. Admiral R. Sudomo

18.I.74 - c. 15.IV.78 (51 months)
(none, new position)
Deputy Commander, Kopkamtib
Navy J

2. Gen. Darjatmo

c. 15.IV.78 - 9.V.78 (3 weeks)
Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff,
Hankam
D J3. Gen. Yoga Sugama²9.V.78
Head of Bakin (State Intelligence Coordina-
tion Board)
D JSTAFF ECHELONChief of the Operations Staff³1. Rear-Admiral Drs. R. M. Soebroto
Joedono11.XII.76 - 24.V.78 (17½ months)
Air Vice-Marshal Sudarmono
Deputy Commander of Kowilhan III (Third
Regional Defense Command)
Navy J

2. Vice-Admiral M. Romly

24.V.78
Deputy Chief of Staff of the Navy
Navy MinangkabauChief of the Administrative Staff⁴

Lt. Gen. Hasnan Habib

11.IV.73
Air Marshal Saleh Basarah
Assistant for General Planning, Hankam
BB Minangkabau

¹For the first time since the downfall of Gen. Sumitro in the wake of the "Malari Affair" of January 1974 the offices of Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Commander of Kopkamtib are held concurrently by the same man.

²General Yoga is the first officer ever to hold concurrently the posts of Kopkamtib Chief of Staff and Head of Bakin.

³The Chief of the Operations Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Intelligence; Operations; Territorial Affairs; Communications and Electronics; and Security and Social Order.

⁴The Chief of the Administrative Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Personnel and Manpower Development; Logistics, Material Development and Installations; Finance; and International Cooperation.

Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff⁵

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Gen. Darjatmo | 3.XII.69 - 11.IX.78 (106 months)
(none, new position)
Third Deputy (Special Affairs) to the Army
Chief of Staff
D J |
| 2. Lt. Gen. Charis Suhud | 11.IX.78
Ambassador to Bangkok
S1 J |

Assistant for Politics, Strategy and General Planning⁶

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|---------------------------------|--|
| Maj. Gen. Ignatius Jogi Supardi | 21.I.76
Maj. Gen. R. Suprpto
Commander, Army Staff and Command School
Artillery J |
|---------------------------------|--|

Assistant for Intelligence

- | | |
|---|---|
| Maj. Gen. L. Benny Murdani ⁷ | 5.VIII.74
Maj. Gen. Charis Suhud
Chargé d'Affaires, Seoul
RPKAD (paratroopers) J |
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Assistant for Operations

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Air Vice-Marshal Sukardi | 21.V.75 - 15.VI.77 (25 months)
Air Vice-Marshal Mochtar Lud
Commander, Fifth Regional Air Command
(Jakarta-W. Java)
Air Force J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Seno Hartono | 15.VI.77
Commander-General, Army Research, Development and Training Command
S1 J |

Assistant for Territorial Affairs

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Maj. Gen. Drs. Oemar Said | 14.III.74
Maj. Gen. Aang Kunaefi Kartawirja
Head, Mental Upbuilding Center (Pusbintal),
Hankam
D J |
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⁵The Chief of the Functional Affairs Staff is responsible for coordinating the work of the Assistants for Social and Political Affairs; and Functional Group Affairs.

⁶This post seems to be somewhat autonomous and to rank higher than that of all other Assistants in Hankam.

⁷General Murdani currently also holds the posts of Head of the Strategic Intelligence Center, Hankam, and Deputy Head of Bakin--an unprecedented agglomeration of roles in the security/intelligence field.

Assistant for Communications and Electronics

Maj. Gen. Drs. Suryadi	17.II.75 (none, new position) Head of G-6, Hankam ?	J
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Assistant for Security and Social Order

Police Maj. Gen. Issukandar	19.II.77 Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Achmad Mauluddin Governor, Police Division, Armed Forces' Academy Police	J
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Assistant for Personnel and Manpower Development

1. Maj. Gen. Susilo Sudarman	17.II.75 - c. 30.VI.78 (none, new position) Head of G-3, Hankam S1	J
2. Air Marshal Madya Subambang	c. 30.VII.78 ? Air Force	?

Assistant for Logistics, Material Development
and Installations

1. Vice-Admiral R. D. Sunardi	2.IV.75 - 11.VIII.77 (28 months) Vice-Admiral R. M. Kusumosutanto Assistant for Material Development, Hankam Navy	J
2. Rear-Admiral Sutopo	11.VIII.77 Commander, Navy Development and Training Command Navy	J

Assistant for Finance

Brig. Gen. Sarwono	6.IX.75 Maj. Gen. Suhanto Officer seconded to the Army Chief of Staff Finance Corps	J
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Assistant for International Cooperation

Maj. Gen. Soekemi Soemantri	17.II.75 Col. R. Nastap Soeryodiprodjo Deputy Chief of Indonesian component, ICCS, Saigon Cavalry	J
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Assistant for Social and Political Affairs

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Lt. Gen. Subijono SH | 8.I.74 - 10.IX.77 (44 months)
Maj. Gen. Amir Murtono SH
Assistant for Functional Group Affairs,
Hankam
B J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Prapto Prajitno | 10.IX.77
Deputy Assistant for Social and Political
Affairs, Hankam
D J |

Assistant for Functional Group Affairs

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|-------------------------|--|
| Maj. Gen. Satibi Darwis | 20.I.74 (?)
Maj. Gen. Subijono SH
Third Assistant to the Army Chief of Staff
S1 S |
|-------------------------|--|

HEADS OF AGENCIES WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND SECURITY

I. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Academy

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Lt. Gen. Purbo S. Suwondo | (1973?)-1.III.78 (probably c. 60 months)
Police Lt. Gen. Sukahar
Head of G-5, Hankam
Artillery J |
| 2. Maj. Gen. Susilo Sudarman | 1.III.78
Assistant for Personnel and Manpower
Development, Hankam
S1 J |

II. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Lt. Gen. Sutanto Wirjoprasanto | ? - 10.X.77 (?)
Vice-Admiral K. Djaelani
Commander, Army Staff and Command School
? J |
| 2. Rear-Admiral R. E. Suprpto | 10.X.77
Deputy Commander-General, Armed Forces'
Staff and Command School
Navy J |

III. Governor, National Defense Institute

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Lt. Gen. Sajidiman | (1974?)
Lt. Gen. R. Kosasih
Deputy Army Chief of Staff
S1 J |
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IV. Head, Armed Forces' Mental Upbuilding Center

Brig. Gen. Drs. Sumitro	19.II.77
Kartosudjono	Maj. Gen. Sudarsono Martoprawiro
	Head, Army Psychological Service
	? J

V. Head, Research and Development Center, Hankam

First Air Marshal Dr. Sunarjo	?
	Rear-Admiral K. Djaelani
	Assistant for Planning and Development to
	the Air Force Chief of Staff
	Air Force J

VI. Head, Armed Forces' Historical Center

Brig. Gen. (Titular) Drs. Nugroho	?
Notosusanto	(none, new position)
	-- J

VII. Head, Armed Forces' Medical Center

1. First Air Marshal Dr. H. Soejoso S.	? - 15.VI.77 (?)
	(none, new position)
	? J
	Air Force
2. Brig. Gen. Dr. Abdullah Hasan	15.VI.77
	Deputy Head, Armed Forces' Medical Center
	S1 ?

VIII. Head, Armed Forces' National Reserves Center

1. Maj. Gen. Drs. Gatot Suwagio	? - 15.VI.77 (?)
	Rear-Admiral Dr. Arifin Sjukur
	Head, Civil Defense, Hankam
	B J
2. Maj. Gen. Henuhili	15.VI.77
	Governor, Combined Division, Armed Forces'
	Staff and Command School
	S1 Menadonese

IX. Head, Armed Forces' Military Police Center

Maj. Gen. Atam Surakusumah	?
	Maj. Gen. Sudarman
	Head, Army Military Police (CPM)
	CPM S

X. Head, Strategic Intelligence Center

1. Rear-Admiral Koesnaedi Bagdja	? - 11.VIII.77 (?)
	Maj. Gen. Djajusman
	Officer seconded to G-1, Hankam
	Navy S

2. Maj. Gen. L. Benny Murdani 11.VIII.77
Assistant for Intelligence, Hankam
RPKAD J

XI. Head, Armed Forces' Information Center

1. Brig. Gen. Sumrahadi ? - 15.VI.77 (?)
Brig. Gen. August Marpaung
Head, Army Information Center
D/BB J

2. Brig. Gen. Darjono SH 15.VI.77
?
B J

XII. Head, Armed Forces' Functional Group Upbuilding Board

1. Maj. Gen. Suharto ? - 15.VI.77 (?)
?
Fifth Assistant to the Army Chief of
Staff (?)
D J

2. Maj. Gen. Mansyur 15.VI.77
Member of Parliament
? S

XIII. Head, Armed Forces' Survey and Mapping Center

Maj. Gen. Ir. Pranoto Asmoro ?
(none, new position)
Head, Army Topographical Service
? J

XIV. Head, Legal Upbuilding Board, Hankam

Maj. Gen. E. J. Kanter SH 3.III.76
(none, new position)
Armed Forces' Advocate-General
Judge-Advocate Corps Menadonese

XV. Head, Armed Forces' Supply Board

Maj. Gen. Drs. Suraryo Iskandar ?
Maj. Gen. J. Rambe
Commander-General, Army Logistics Command
Supply Corps J

XVI. Head, Data Gathering and Processing Center, Hankam

Brig. Gen. Hardijono ?
(none, new position)
Officer seconded to Hankam
Artillery J

XVII. Head, Management Institute, Hankam

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|---------------------------------|---|------------|
| 1. Maj. Gen. Drs. Laupase Malao | ? - 4.X.77 (?)
(none, new position)
?
BB | Toba Batak |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Drs. Abdulkadir | 4.X.77
?
? | J |

SERVICE ECHELON

Army Chief of Staff

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------|
| 1. Gen. Makmun Murod | 10.IV.74 - 26.I.78 (46 months)
Gen. Surono Reksodimedjo
Commander Kostranas (National Strategic
Command)
S1 | Palembang |
| 2. Lt. Gen. Widodo | 26.I.78
Commander, Kowilhan II (Second Regional
Defense Command)
D | J |

Navy Chief of Staff

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Admiral R. Subijakto | 29.VI.74 - 18.VI.77 (36 months)
Admiral R. Subono
Ambassador to Rangoon
Navy | J |
| 2. Vice-Admiral Walujo Sugito | 18.VI.77
Deputy Navy Chief of Staff
Navy | J |

Air Force Chief of Staff

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Air Marshal Saleh Basarah | 19.IV.73 - 18.VI.77 (50 months)
Air Marshal Suwoto Sukendar
Chief of the Departmental Staff, Hankam
Air Force (Pilot Corps) S |
| 2. Air Vice-Marshal Ashadi Tjahjadi | 18.VI.77
Deputy Air Force Chief of Staff
Air Force J |

Chief of the National Police

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Police Gen. Drs. Widodo Budidarmo | 1.VII.74 - c. 25.IX.78 (50½ months)
Police Gen. Drs. Mohammad Hasan
Commander, Metropolitan Police Region
(Jakarta)
Police J |
|--------------------------------------|--|

2. Police Lt. Gen. Dr. Awaloeddin Djamin	c. 25.IX.78 Ambassador to Bonn	Minangkabau
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OPERATIONAL ECHELON

Commander, National Strategic Command (Kostranas)

Vice-Admiral Sjamsul Bahri	10.VI.74 Lt. Gen. Wahono Commander of the Fleet Navy	J
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Commander, National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas)

1. Air Vice-Marshal Suwondo	27.XI.73 - c. 7.IX.78 (60 months) Air Vice-Marshal Sudjatmiko Head of G-6, Hankam Air Force	J
2. First Air Marshal Iskandar	c. 7.IX.78 Governor, Air Force Division, Armed Forces' Academy Air Force	J

Commander, First Regional Defense Command
(Kowilhan I--Sumatra and W. Kalimantan)

1. Lt. Gen. S. Poniman	6.V.74 - 15.X.77 (41 months) Lt. Gen. Widodo Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad) S1	J
2. Maj. Gen. G. H. Mantik	15.X.77 Commander, Kodam V S1	Menadonese

Commander, Second Regional Defense Command
(Kowilhan II--Java, Madura, Nusatenggara)

1. Lt. Gen. Widodo	8.V.74 - 21.I.78 (44 months) Lt. Gen. Makmun Murod Commander, Kowilhan I D	J
2. Lt. Gen. Willy Widjojo Sujono	21.I.78 Lt. Gen. Widodo Commander, Kowilhan III B	J

Commander, Third Regional Defense Command
(Kowilhan III--Sulawesi, S., E. and C. Kalimantan)

1. Lt. Gen. Willy Widjojo Sujono	7.VI.75 - 12.XII.77 (30 months) Commander, Kodam VIII B	J
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2. Maj. Gen. Leo Lopulisa	12.XII.77 Commander, Kostrad S1	Ambonese
Commander, Fourth Regional Defense Command (Kowilhan IV--Maluku and Irian Jaya)		
1. Vice-Admiral Soesatyo Mardhie	16.V.73 - 11.VII.77 (50 months) Vice-Admiral R. S. Subijakto Deputy Commander, Kowilhan II Navy	J
2. Rear-Admiral R. Raymon Toto Prawira Soepardja	11.VII.77 Inspector-General, Navy Navy	J

CENTRAL ARMY STAFF

Deputy Chief of Staff

1. Lt. Gen. Wahono	12.VI.74 - 22.X.77 (40 months) Lt. Gen. Sajidiman Commander, Kostranas B	J
2. Lt. Gen. S. Poniman	22.X.77 Commander, Kowilhan I S1	J

First Assistant (Intelligence)

Maj. Gen. Harsojo	25.II.74 Maj. Gen. Widya Latief Deputy Head of G-1, Hankam Artillery	J
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Second Assistant (Operations)

Maj. Gen. Alex Prawiraatmadja	5.II.75 Maj. Gen. Leo Lopulisa Commander, Kodam II S1	S
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Third Assistant (Personnel)

1. Maj. Gen. Abdullah Sadjad	? - c. 29.VIII.78 (?) Maj. Gen. A. J. Kusno Deputy Commander-General, Army Research, Development and Training Command Artillery	S
2. Brig. Gen. Soeharto	c. 29.VIII.78 Deputy Assistant for Intelligence, Hankam ?	J

Fourth Assistant (Logistics)

Maj. Gen. Iksan Sugiarto	25.II.74 Maj. Gen. Sukertijo Commander, Kodam X D	J
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Fifth Assistant (Research and Development)

Brig. Gen. Soepardjo	c. 25.I.76 Brig. Gen. Suprpto Commander, Kodam X D	J
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Assistant for Territorial Affairs

1. Maj. Gen. A. Azis Bustam	4.X.75 - 7.I.78 (27 months) (none, new position) Commander-General, Army Research, Development and Training Command Hasanuddin	Buginese
2. Brig. Gen. A. Rivai Harahap	7.I.78 Commander, Kodam I BB	Mandailing Batak

HEADS OF KEY AGENCIES UNDER THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF

I. Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)

1. Maj. Gen. Leo Lopulisa	4.I.75 - 19.I.78 (36 months) Maj. Gen. Himawan Sutanto Second Assistant to the Army Chief of Staff S1	Ambonese
2. Maj. Gen. Wijogo Atmodarminto	19.I.78 Governor, General and Army Division, Armed Forces' Academy S1	J

II. Governor, General and Army Division, Armed Forces' Academy

1. Maj. Gen. Wijogo Atmodarminto	? (c. 1974) - 16.I.78 (?) Maj. Gen. Sarwo Edhie Wibowo Chief of Staff, Kostrad S1	J
2. Brig. Gen. Gunawan Wibisono	16.I.78 Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII B	J

III. Commander, Army Staff and Command School

Brig. Gen. E. W. P. Tambunan	3.III.76 Brig. Gen. Ignatius Jogi Supardi Commander, Kodam XIII B	Toba Batak
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IV. Commander-General, Army Logistics Command

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| 1. Maj. Gen. Amir Judowinarno | 9.III.76 - 26.IX.77 (18 months)
Maj. Gen. Wing Wirjawan Wirjodiprodjo
Commander, Kodam IV
D J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Yoes Adipoernomo | 26.IX.77
Deputy Commander-General, Army Logistic
Command
? J |

V. Commander-General, Army Research, Development and Training Command

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| Maj. Gen. Seno Hartono | 22.IX.75
Maj. Gen. A. Azis Bustam
Commander, Kodam XII
S1 J |
|------------------------|--|

VI. Commander, Army Paracommando Command

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Brig. Gen. R. Yogie Suwardi Memet | 31.V.75
Brig. Gen. Witarmin
Commander, Airborne Battle Command, Kostrad
S1 S |
|-----------------------------------|---|

TERRITORIAL COMMANDS (KODAM)

I. Iskandarmuda (Aceh)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Brig. Gen. A. Rifai Harahap | 8.X.73 - 4.I.78 (51 months)
Brig. Gen. Aang Kunaefi Kartawirja
Chief of Staff, Kodam I
BB Mandailing Batak |
| 2. Brig. Gen. R. A. Saleh | 4.I.78
Chief of Staff, Kodam I
? S |

II. Bukit Barisan (N. Sumatra)

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Sukotjo | 28.I.75 - c. 14.VIII.77 (31 months)
Brig. Gen. Alex Prawiraatmadja
Commander, Kodam IX
D J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Ismail | c. 14.VIII.77
Chief of Staff, Kostrad
? ? |

III. 17 Agustus (W. Sumatra)

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Sutedjo | 6.II.74 - 30.I.78 (48 months)
Brig. Gen. Sumantoro
Commander-General, Army Logistics Command
B J |
|-----------------------|---|

2. Brig. Gen. Sumaryo Martosaputro	30.I.78 Head, Army Physical Upbuilding Service D J
IV. Sriwijaya (S. Sumatra)	
Brig. Gen. Haroen Soewardi	25.II.76 Brig. Gen. Amir Judowinarno Commander, Kodam XV B J
V. Jaya (Greater Jakarta)	
1. Maj. Gen. G. H. Mantik	17.IV.73 - 12.X.77 (54 months) Maj. Gen. S. Poniman Commander, Kodam IX S1 Menadonese
2. Brig. Gen. Norman Sasono	12.X.77 Commander, Kodam XII CPM J
VI. Siliwangi (W. Java)	
Maj. Gen. Himawan Sutanto	15.I.75 Maj. Gen. Aang Kunaefi Kartawirja Commander, Kostrad S1 J
VII. Diponegoro (C. Java)	
1. Maj. Gen. Jasir Hadibroto	7.IV.73 - 19.VIII.77 (52 months) Maj. Gen. Widodo Commander, Kodam II D J
2. Maj. Gen. Sumitro ⁸	19.VIII.77 - 3.III.78 (6 months) Chief Inspector of Supply, Hankam D J
3. Maj. Gen. Sukotjo	4.III.78 Deputy Commander, Kowilhan I D J
VIII. Brawijaya (E. Java)	
Maj. Gen. Witarmin	3.VI.75 Maj. Gen. Willy Widjojo Sujono Commander, Army Paracommando Command B J

⁸Maj. Gen. Sumitro died of heart failure on March 3, 1978.

IX. Mulawarman (E. Kalimantan)

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|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Ery Supardjan | 8.II.75 - 6.VI.78 (40 months)
Brig. Gen. Sukotjo
Chief of Staff, Kodam VII
D J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Rahwono | 6.VI.78
Chief of Staff, Kowilhan III
B? J |

X. Lambung Mangkurat (S. and C. Kalimantan)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Brig. Gen. R. Mistar Tjokrokusumo | 5.I.76
Brig. Gen. Soepardjo
Chief of Staff, Kodam VIII
B J |
|-----------------------------------|---|

XII. Tanjungpura (W. Kalimantan)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Norman Sasono | 20.II.76 - 8.X.77 (20 months)
Brig. Gen. R. M. Subandiono
Chief of Staff, Kodam V
CPM J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Subhan Djajaatmadja | 8.X.77
Chief of Staff, Kodam V
S1 S |

XIII. Merdeka (N and C. Sulawesi)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Edy Sugardo | 8.I.76 - 16.IX.76 (32 months)
Head, Army Historical Center
B J |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Rudini | 16.IX.78

D J |

XIV. Hasanuddin (S. and S.E. Sulawesi)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Brig. Gen. H. Endang Sukma | 22.IX.75 - 10.VIII.77 (19 months)
Brig. Gen. Hasan Slamet
Chief of Staff, Kodam VI
S1 S |
| 2. Brig. Gen. Kusnadi | 10.VIII.77
Deputy Third Assistant to the Army Chief
of Staff
D J |

XV. Pattimura (Maluku)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Brig. Gen. Abdurrachman Suhodo | 2.III.76 - 11.II.78 (24 months)
Brig. Gen. Haroen Soewardi
Assistant for Intelligence, Kostrad
D J |
|-----------------------------------|---|

2. Brig. Gen. Bagus Sumitro	11.II.78 ? B?	J
XVI. Udayana (Nusatenggara)		
Brig. Gen. Soeweno	4.III.76 Commander, Paracommando Training Center RPKAD	J
XVII. Cendrawasih (Irian Jaya)		
1. Brig. Gen. Imam Munandar	25.I.75 - 8.VII.78 (41½ months) Brig. Gen. Kisrad Soetrisno Chief, Army Physical Training Service B	J
2. Col. R. I. Santoso	8.VII.78 ? RPKAD	J

Head, State Intelligence Coordination Board (Bakin)		
Gen. Yoga Sugama	28.I.74 Lt. Gen. Sutopo Juwono Deputy Ambassador to the U.N. D	J